

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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Action

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FROM: PARIS

Info

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TO: Secretary of State

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SENT DEPARTMENT 3325, REPEATED INFORMATION LONDON 733, MOSCOW 209, BONN 352.

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BONN PASS BERLIN AS PARIS 109.

FROM HILLENBRAND.

IN INITIAL EFFORT TO COORDINATE REPLIES TO SOV NOTE OF MARCH 2, WORKING GROUP DISCUSSION TODAY, AT LALOY'S SUGGESTION, FOCUSED ON FOLLOWING PRINCIPAL ISSUES: (1) AGENDA; (2) GERMAN PARTICIPATION; (3) PARTICIPATION OF POLAND AND CZECHO; AND (4) LEVEL OF NEGOTIATIONS.

1. AGENDA. UK, ARGUING IN FAVOR OF AGENDA FORMULA WHICH SHOULD APPROXIMATE AS CLOSELY AS FEASIBLE THAT RECOMMENDED BY SOVIETS IN ORDER TO DISCOURAGE FURTHER POLEMICS, SUBMITTED FOLLOWING FORMULA: "TO CONSIDER PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH CONCLUSION OF PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY AND THE QUESTION OF BERLIN".

IN GIVING RATIONALE FOR OUR AGENDA FORMULA, WE STRESSED DESIRABILITY OF INCLUDING SPECIFIC MENTION OF PEACE TREATY AND BERLIN BUT IN BROADER CONTEXT OF QUESTIONS RELATED TO GERMANY IN ORDER TO AVOID IMPRESSION OF CAPITULATION TO SOVIET AGENDA DEMANDS. IN OUR VIEW, UK FORMULA WAS TOO NARROW AND WOULD THEREFORE NOT AVOID LATTER RISK.

FRANCE OPPOSED UK FORMULA, EXPRESSED VIEW THAT US FORMULA

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By TK NARA, Date 1-5-82

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ALSO WAS TOO RESTRICTIVE AND BELIEVED IT WAS IMPORTANT TO REITERATE WESTERN INSISTENCE ON RIGHT TO RAISE ANY SUBJECT, AS SET FORTH IN FRENCH DRAFT REPLY.

GERMANY AGREED GENERALLY WITH FRENCH VIEW AND SUGGESTED THAT FOLLOWING REVISION OF US FORMULA MIGHT MEET THE PROBLEM: "TO CONSIDER THE GERMAN QUESTION IN ALL ITS ASPECTS AND IMPLICATIONS, INCLUDING A PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY AND THE QUESTION OF BERLIN".

WHILE UK DID NOT PRODUCE DRAFT REPLY FOR WORKING GROUP CONSIDERATION, IN COURSE OF DISCUSSION OF AGENDA FORMULA HANCOCK RECEIVED WORD BY TELEPHONE THAT MACMILLAN HAD PREPARED NEW DRAFT IN BONN WHICH WOULD PROBABLY BE CIRCULATED AT TOMORROW'S MEETING. HANCOCK ADVISED HOWEVER THAT HE BELIEVED NEW DRAFT WOULD CONTAIN AGENDA FORMULA STATED ABOVE.

2. GERMAN PARTICIPATION. ON STRENGTH OF IMPRESSION RECEIVED IN MOSCOW BY UK MINISTERS THAT SOVIETS AGREED WITH WESTERN FORMULA FOR GERMAN PARTICIPATION SET FORTH IN FEBRUARY 16 NOTE, UK RECOMMENDED REPLY STATE SIMPLY: "RE GERMAN PARTICIPATION, WE NOTE THAT SOVIET GOVERNMENT AGREES WITH PROPOSAL MADE IN OUR NOTE OF FEBRUARY 16".

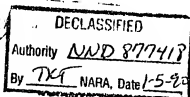
FRANCE, TAKING EXCEPTION TO UK REFERENCE TO (#) PREFERRED FOLLOWING FORMULA: "FRENCH GOV NOTES THAT THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAS ACCEPTED ITS SUGGESTION THAT GERMAN ADVISORS SHOULD BE INVITED TO THE CONFERENCE AND SHOULD BE CONSULTED".

GERMANY EXPRESSED NO PARTICULAR PREFERENCE FOR ANY FORMULA ALTHOUGH POINTED OUT THAT IF US FORMULA ADOPTED IT SHOULD BE AMENDED TO REFLECT ORIGINAL WORDING OF FEBRUARY 16 NOTE - I.E., "BE INVITED" INSTEAD OF "BE PRESENT".

3. PARTICIPATION OF POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. UK AND GERMANY FELT US FORMULA WOULD BE SATISFACTORY.

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FRANCE AGREED IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO SETTLE ON SPECIAL STATUS FOR POLES AND CZECHS, EITHER AS "OBSERVERS" FROM BEGINNING OF CONFERENCE, AS FRENCH DRAFT REPLY SUGGESTS, OR AS PARTICIPANTS AT LATER APPROPRIATE STAGE, AS US DRAFT REPLY SUGGESTS; LALOY WILL INQUIRE IF US FORMULA ACCEPTABLE TO FRENCH GOVERNMENT. ALL AGREED THAT WESTERN CONSENT TO SOME FORM OF PARTICIPATION BY POLES AND CZECHS WOULD GIVE RISE TO PROBLEM WITH ITALY.

4. LEVEL OF NEGOTIATIONS. WHILE UK DID NOT OFFER ANY TEXTUAL FORMULA, HANCOCK MADE IT CLEAR THAT UK WOULD PREFER NOT RPT NOT TO CONDITION WESTERN ACCEPTANCE OF A SUMMIT MEETING ON PROGRESS AT A FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING. EXPLICITLY REVERSING COMMITMENT GIVEN BY COUVE TO LLOYD DURING RECENT ANGLO-FRENCH TALKS IN PARIS (EMBTel 3279), FRENCH TOOK POSITION THAT WHILE THEY DID NOT EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY OF SUBSEQUENT SUMMIT CONFERENCE THEY PREFERRED TO AVOID ANY COMMITMENT THERETO AT THIS STAGE. IN FRENCH VIEW HOLDING OF SUMMIT CONFERENCE SHOULD BE DEPENDENT ON SUCCESSFUL FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING AND FRANCE THEREFORE FAVORED US FORMULA. GERMANY MILDLY TENDED TO FAVOR UK VIEW.

ALTHOUGH MACMILLAN DRAFT MAY RAISE ADDITIONAL ISSUES, WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE SOONEST ON AGENDA AND GERMAN PARTICIPATION AS WELL AS DEPT'S VIEWS ON LINK BETWEEN FONMIN CONFERENCE AND SUMMIT IN LIGHT OF RECENT DISCUSSIONS WASHINGTON. ON GER ROLE AT CONFERENCE, WE FIND ATTRACTIVE BRIT IDEA OF SIMPLY IMPLYING SOV ACCEPTANCE OF OUR FEB 16 PROPOSALS WITHOUT REPEATING THEM EXPLICITLY, BUT WOULD PREFER SOME WORD OTHER THAN "PARTICIPATION".

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(#) OMISSION. CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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